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be sold; the composer earns a living out of it, or hopes to. And finally, there is the obvious and important difference between a composition that depends upon writing and one that needs only singing or speaking and hearing. And from this difference flow a number of significant correlaries. The folk song is much more local; it is commonly expressed in local terms; it has local allusions. The popular song refers to a much wider community of experience. The popular song, being written, is standardized; of it one does not collect "versions." Popular songs that develop versions are passing into folk songs. But the *Saturday Evening Post* appears in almost three million identical versions every Thursday. And the popular song, the popular story, exist in the world of fashion and fad. Among the folk, where communication is much slower, there is much less fashion; at least, in folk literature, there are probably no "rages." The "rage" is a trait of the *demos*.

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If we turn to the songs and to the literature which are current in Mexico, we find examples of all three sorts: sophisticated, popular, and folk. That type of song and story which has widest currency, however, is in many respects transitional between folk literature and popular literature, folk song and popular song. The more primitive village peoples still sing the ancient traditional songs and tell the old traditional tales. The peoples of the towns and cities, at least the middle and upper classes there, sing sentimental songs, which are locally Mexican, and even the jazz ditties of

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ephemeral favor in New York or London. But in between lies a great mass of transitional literature, a sort of "folk-popular" literature, which expresses the fact that in Mexico we have a collection of folk peoples who are becoming *demos*.

This intermediate literature is best known from its outstanding form, the ballad known as *corrido*.[1] The *corrido* is in first instance orally transmitted. The composer, a singer of local prestige, communicates it to the circle of listeners; it tends immediately to become anonymous. But it is not wholly independent of writing. In the rural districts it may be set down in private copy-books, and in the cities it sometimes circulates on cheap printed leaflets—just as did the "broadside ballad" of Elizabethan England.

[1] "The commonest form of musical expression is the *corrido*, literally, 'current happening.' Any event that touches the people immediately finds its way into this form of ballad. Its words are printed on a gaudy sheet of paper, usually green or pink, embellished often by a lurid wood cut. The verse is doggerel and the music a 'catchy' refrain. But the *corridos* are a valuable index to popular thought. During the Revolution Zapata outranked all other figures in the variety and number of *corridos* about him. Villa, pictured as 'muy hombre,' the hero of gigantic exploits, came next. Carranza did not figure in *corridos*—he made no appeal to popular imagination. 'The arm of Obregon'—the arm lost on the field of battle—did. Heroic, tragic, gruesome, pathetic themes prevail. Deeds of valor, floods, earthquakes, famines, calamities generally, which affect the people, are instantly sung. The writer usually begins by announcing the subject of his verse—as if addressing an audience, and in concluding often takes leave of it. He is a modern troubadour—but instead of offering his vocal wares to the mighty, as of old, the people are his patrons, for the *corridos* are sold for a centavo or two in the markets.

"An essential quality of the *corridos* is their ingenuousness: The writer is wholly frank. He tells not only of his hero's prowess, but of his weaknesses—his drunkenness, his offenses against law and order, his fickleness to his sweethearts, as well as their faithlessness. And just as he views the hero of his theme without illusion he applies similar measurements to the great and near-great of his country—the generals and politicians" (Gruening, *op. cit.*, pp. 647–48).

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The subject matter of this popular literature is always what interests the Mexican masses: war, crime, catastrophe, and especially popular heroes and popular scapegoats. And in its constantly shifting content, as the old *corridos* die and the new *corridos* are composed, it constitutes a sort of collective diary of the Mexican masses. At its lower margin, in the more traditional songs that persist in local communities for generations, this literature merges with the typical folk literature of primitive peoples. Its upper margin, the news ballad of crime or passion, passes into the lower margin of our own popular literature—the doggerel verses about Floyd Collins or the Hall-Mills case now circulated on mail-order phonograph records.

The essential difference between the *corrido* and the folk song of a truly primitive people appears to lie in the tendency of the *corrido* to enter into the realm of news, public opinion, and even propaganda. The *corrido* is a news organ. It informs what comes to be a public of the events which concern it, and especially of the excitements which nourish its interest. It tends, one would venture, to become a mechanism for conflicting local attitudes. A man sung as a bandit in one community may be sung as a redeemer in another; the circulation of these songs tends to define his position in more generally accepted terms. In this relation of the *corrido* to a discussion which is more impersonal than the intimate interchange of ideas in a completely self-sufficient folk community, the *corrido* is related to that rise of nationalistic feeling which begins to give

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to the changes which are going on in Mexico a special, and at the same time a characteristic, form.

III

The change which is obviously going on in Mexico can be described, it may be, in terms more fundamental than "the spread of education" or "economic development," although these are of course important aspects of that change. To the social anthropologist the change is that which is represented by the gain of popular literature at the expense of folk literature. It is a change in type of culture. It may furthermore be provisionally assumed that this change has elements in common with others which are taking place in countries similarly placed with respect to the widening influence of modern Western industrial civilization. Mexico is but one of the peoples on that frontier of contact. Modern industrial civilization appears, offhand, to reach these marginal peoples as a sort of complex; those peoples that survive tend to react, it would seem, in ways different yet often comparable. Perhaps tractors, newspapers, linguistic revivals, technical manuals of craftsmanship, and a strong emotional attitude toward foreigners, compounded at once of admiration and contempt, represent recurrent elements in a describable process.

There is a growing disposition on the part of cultural anthropologists to study social processes as such, rather than to rest content with the mere description of cultures or the solution of specific historical sequences.

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212 comes regularly. A newspaper costs one-tenth of a
[204] daily wage, and when a copy does come to the village there are only a few *correctos* who read it.

Literacy, a technique of communication bestowed by civilization, is not largely used in enabling the Tepoztecos to take over the experience of other groups. With *los tontos*, at least, the exploration of books ends with the brief schooling. But, by those who possess it, a knowledge of reading and writing is much exercised in the everyday affairs of life: in making business entries, in writing letters,[1] in recording the
[533] contributions for the *santos*. And, finally, the songs composed in the valley are often reduced to writing.

● 538 For there is a local literature. As with all folk peoples there are songs, stories, and legends that are a part of the tradition of this particular community. Among primitive peoples such songs and stories are orally transmitted. They are definitely traditional, and individual composition of entirely new examples is relatively infrequent. Such traditional songs and stories—"folk lore" in the narrowest sense—exist in Tepoztlán. There is a group of tales centering around "El Tepozteco,"[2] the legendary "king" of the people of Tepoztlán. There are stories of animals. Such have been frequently collected in Mexico, and some indeed
[177] in Tepoztlán.[3] Whatever aboriginal elements exist in

[1] During 1927 about a dozen letters a day arrived at Tepoztlán, and as many left. About half were business letters.

[2] See p. 36.

[3] Franz Boas, "Notes on Mexican Folklore"; "The Coyote and the Opossum," *Mexican Folkways*.

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such tales are overlaid by many European and perhaps African elements. 538 [177]

If the purpose of the present study had been to rescue disappearing elements of a more primitive culture, it would have been indicated to collect materials of this sort. But these older, traditional folk tales do not constitute the songs and stories of meaning and significance to the Tepoztecos. A few people tell these stories, usually to children. This body of folk lore is passing through the nursery to oblivion. It is no longer vital; it does not enter into the important social situations in Tepoztlán.

There are, however, many songs and some stories of local provenience and of local reference which are of great importance in the life of the Tepoztecans. Their character reflects the character of Tepoztecan culture; they are halfway between the songs and tales of a primitive tribe and the tales and songs of a city people. They are only in part traditional; the most important of them are self-conscious compositions, enduring only while fashionable. Only in part do they pass orally from singer to singer; they tend to rely upon writing for circulation and for perpetuation. They are sung by adults for adults;[1] they are the invariable concomitant of all important social occasions in Tepoztlán; and, most important of all, they express the wishes and the ideals of the contemporary people. They constitute the real literature of Tepoztlán. 533 538

[1] With the exception of some ritual songs, which are sung by children in public ceremonies.

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There is a small group of songs written in the same stilted phraseology as the love songs addressed to the lady hopelessly loved, but with a different subject matter. These are songs addressed by singers to other singers. All these local ephemeral songs are written by men in or near the valley of Tepoztlán, and most of them by two or three men who enjoy reputations in northern Morelos as great poets.[1] One poet addresses a contemporary, or one recently dead, in a song of praise. In such songs the similes are again conventional: the guitar is referred to as a "lyre"; the composers are "nightingales." But these songs name the men recognized as *gran poetas* in the little world of these songs, and the intellectual self-sufficiency of the small community is unmistakable.

Por todo el ámbito, Oacalco a Yautepec,[2]	Throughout all the circuit, Oacalco to Yautepec,
Es una gloria sus cantos al escuchar,	It is glorious to listen to your songs,
Muy entusiastas las ninfas con placer,	The nymphs, enthusiastic with pleasure,
Brindando aplausas a Guadalupe Beltran.[3]	Offering applause to Guadalupe Beltran.

However conventional the language of songs of this type, they are of significance in describing the life of Tepoztlán, because they do embody actual memories that the people hold dear and they do enshrine local heroes. It is because the songs of war do just this that

[1] A singer generally composes the words, then tries them on his instrument and puts the music to them.

[2] A distance of about eight miles. Yautepec is fourteen miles from Tepoztlán.

[3] The singer honored.

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533 they are the most significant of all the songs. They
538 are the songs that record and perpetuate events (*corridos*, in the sense in which that term is used generally in Mexico). In the cities of Mexico such songs report dramatic crimes or accidents as well as the events of war. This class of songs constitutes a sort of news-
[203] paper of the folk. Such songs from other communi-
[177] ties come to Tepoztlán and are sung there along with the local *corridos*. But, in Tepoztlán, crime almost
[174] does not occur, and great accidents are rare; so the subject matter involves almost entirely the episodes and the heroes of the last great revolution. Dramatic incidents that happened near Tepoztlán, the local revolutionary leaders, the moods of pride and sorrow of revolutionary days, were made into music by Zapatista soldiers around their campfires; and now these memories of which the group is proud are revived and the values therein are redefined in the singing of the songs today. These songs are the real history-books of Tepoztlán, the cherry tree of their George Washington, and their Paul Revere's ride.

533 These ballads of revolution may conveniently be
539 regarded as of three principal types: the soldier song, the political lampoon, and the narrative of a military exploit.

In the soldier song the Zapatista sings his life. There are no episodes, no personalities. The life of the *guerrilla* in the mountains itself speaks.

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533 539 [186] the tendency in Morelos for this nationalistic consciousness to assume a racial aspect is indicated in

Que vivan los valientes defensores de la sierra,	Hurrah for the brave defenders of the sierra,
Que vivan nuestros jefes de la revolución,	Hurrah for our revolutionary leaders,
Que viva el Plan de Ayala, que vivan los aztecas,	Hurrah for the Plan of Ayala, hurrah for the Aztecs,
Muera Don Venustiano y su mal opinión.	Death to Don Venustiano and his bad cause.

533 538 212 This, then, is the real literature of Tepoztlán.[1] It does not merely persist; it thrives and multiplies; it is a true voice of the people. It is not Indian but Mexican. It is comparable with the ballads of fifteenth-century England. In general it passes from the mouth of the singer to the ear of the listener, who becomes the next singer. But many *corridos* are written down. It is easier to learn a song if you can borrow the text and study it over. It is probable that one of the earliest needs for writing felt by an illiterate *tonto* is in connection with these songs. When such a one was asked if he knew some songs, he replied regretfully,

[1] The classification of the local songs here used may be summarized:

- Traditional songs, ritualistic and anonymous
  - Sacred songs of public ritual: *alabanzas*
  - Secular songs of private ritual: *mañanitas*
- Ephemeral songs, social and aesthetic
  - Conventional art forms
    - Odes of love
    - The singer sung
  - More truly expressive songs, preserving group experience and defining group values
    - Songs of war and heroism
      - Soldier songs
      - Political lampoons
      - Narrative songs

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"Oh, no, I have no copy-book." To know and to be able to sing the current songs is a common ambition of young boys. It is an advantage to be able to write. A girl of fourteen of the largely illiterate *barrio* of Los Reyes was the only one of her family to have a knowledge of writing. Although *corridos* are a part of a man's world, not a woman's, her elder brother was forced to ask her to help him in writing down a song he wanted to learn. Her prestige was correspondingly increased.

At the same time the supremacy of these local songs is not unchallenged. Songs of the city are occasionally heard in Tepoztlán. There are several phonographs, and these aid in making city songs popular. The songs of urban Mexico are much like our sentimental songs. As the urbanization of Tepoztlán slowly progresses, the city songs will become more usual; there will be a shift of emphasis from folk song to popular song.[1]

[1] One convention of city sentiment prevails in Tepoztlán. As elsewhere in Mexico, it is customary to give a person on his birthday colored postcards depicting white blonde women and men in European attire in attitudes of banal affection, amid turtledoves and flowers. These cards are as customary as the *mañanitas* on birthday mornings.

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the state of Morelos is excellent and covers all the municipios of the state. Excursions organized by the school give the younger generation an opportunity to know their state.

The proximity of Cuernavaca, the state capital, also plays some part in developing a consciousness of being Morelenses. In Cuernavaca there are secondary and preparatory schools to which some Tepoztecan parents send their children, since the local school reaches only to the sixth grade.

STUDENT SCHOLARSHIPS

Each year the secretary of education makes available a number of student scholarships for advanced study outside the village. About fifty Tepoztecans have received such scholarships during the past fifteen years, and many of these students have returned to the village to teach or to carry on their work as farmers. The experience away from home makes for many changes in habits and customs, and must be reckoned as another source of culture change, though obviously a limited one.

CULTURAL MISSIONS

Paralleling the work of the school is that of the cultural missions, also a federal service, which travel throughout the country visiting peasant and Indian communities and giving instruction for adults. Tepoztlán has had a cultural mission for two years, and in 1947 the mission worked in one of the surrounding villages of the municipio. All of the members of the mission were non-Tepoztecans, again making for increased opportunities to become familiar with customs from different parts of the country. The mission taught Tepoztecans how to make beds, chairs, and other furniture; it taught the girls knitting, sewing, and crocheting; it encouraged social dancing and sports such as volleyball; it taught the women how to make inexpensive candies and preserves; it worked on improving the homes by getting a few families to build privies and to raise the hearth off the floor for more sanitary cooking. In addition, there was a doctor attached to the mission who administered inoculations and gave advice on baby care.

BOOKS AND NEWSPAPERS

Most of the books which reach Tepoztlán are textbooks used in the school. One of the innovations of the Mexican government since the Revolution has been the elimination of most texts written by foreigners, and the substitution of texts written by Mexicans, which seek to arouse Mexican nationalism. Stories of the Mexican Indians have been substituted for those of children of other lands, and national heroes receive an important place in most texts dealing with history. The secretary of education has printed millions of copies of history texts which are distributed free, and some of these books have reached Tepoztecan homes.

Among other publications which occasionally reach Tepoztlán are leaflets put out by the Partido Revolucionario Mexicano (now the Partido Revolucionario

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Institucional) presidential messages, propaganda leaflets from the League of Agrarian Communities, the Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanos, and the Sinarquistas. However, the reading public is still very small, and for the most part such leaflets go unnoticed.

Twenty years ago the few literate persons in the village read novels, such as the popular *Génova de Brabante* or *María el Hada del Bosque* and, among the youth, the *Secretario de los Amantes*. Today one finds the youth reading the popular comics "Paquín" and "Chamaco." The principal characters in these comics are Mexicans and the jokes are full of Mexicanisms associated with city life.

Other fairly common items read by young Tepoztecans are the *cancioneros* (song sheets), some of which are distributed free by the Bayer Aspirin Company as part of their advertising. These songs are written by Mexicans and generally reflect much of the life of the countryside in different regions of Mexico. It is not unusual on a moonlit night to hear groups of young men singing of a legend of Mayab, or a *danzón* from Vera Cruz, or a song from Jalisco. American tunes such as "Begin the Beguine," sung in Spanish, are also occasionally heard. Many of the songs exalt the virtues of the Mexicans and of Mexico, and reflect the growing sense of nationalism. Thus, we were not surprised to hear a young Tepoztecan on his way to the fields singing, "Soy puro mexicano, nacido en esta tierra que es mi linda nación." This song is a symbol of Tepoztecan localism slowly giving way to identification with the Mexican nation.

Because of the proximity of the state capital to Mexico City, local newspapers are overshadowed by the national dailies. However, two small papers are published in Cuernavaca, and these carry local notices, news, and many advertisements of the commercial houses of Cuernavaca. Some of these newspapers reach Tepoztlán, but they are read primarily by the local government officials. On fiesta days the paper is sometimes sold by a hawker who may announce some sensational murder in the state. The paper is very Morelos-conscious and uses slogans such as, "Every good Morelense buys these products" or "Morelos advances towards agricultural progress," etc. The only other local periodical which reaches a few Tepoztecans is the *Diario Oficial del Estado*, read primarily by the courthouse officials.

LITERACY CAMPAIGN

Another federal service which reached Tepoztlán and contributed toward the identification of Tepoztecans with the nation was the campaign against illiteracy, carried out by the Department of Education. The slogans used included, "Mexico must be great because of its culture" and "The Fatherland must have citizens who can read." Slogans such as these were posted on billboards in the village, and representatives from the Department of Education came to Tepoztlán, gave talks, and showed movies. It was recognized that in a village like Tepoztlán the original idea of each literate teaching at least one illiterate how to read would not work. The program was therefore organized by the schoolteachers in terms of adult evening classes for illiterates.

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The quality of constriction is also reflected in artistic expression and creativeness, both of which are limited. There are practically no handicrafts, no pottery, no weaving, no basketmaking. Although sewing, knitting, crocheting, and embroidery are becoming more widespread as a result of the influence of the cultural missions, the patterns used are purchased in Cuernavaca stores or copied from style magazines, and this work can hardly be called creative.

Music and the dance are very poorly developed. There are no traditional dances for men and women. The only traditional step used is the *brinco*, literally "the jump," which is a short jumping or skipping step done repeatedly without variation, to the accompaniment of a simple and monotonous melody played over and over. Only men are permitted to dance this step, and they do so singly or arm in arm with others, around the plaza in a large circle.

Modern social dancing has been learned by some of the more acculturated young people, and dances are held about once a week in the plaza under the uncertain light of a Coleman gasoline lamp. Social dancing has not become popular; most parents still refuse to permit their daughters to attend these dances, and boys have difficulty finding partners. By and large, the dancing lacks skill and grace and the dances seem dreary affairs. The school teaches a few traditional dances from other parts of Mexico, and these are occasionally performed in public by the school children. Most children, however, do not participate or have occasion to use these dances later. In short, the dance is not an important part of Tepoztecan life.

Musical expression consists primarily of singing typical regional songs to the accompaniment of the guitar. The local manner of singing is characterized by loudness and shouting, with little variation of style. These songs are sung exclusively by unmarried youths. Groups of boys or girls may serenade a friend or relative at dawn with the *mañanita*, or birthday songs, which are popular throughout Mexico. Perhaps the best singing occurs in the church where a selected choir of women and children sing under the direction of the *cantor*. New types of songs are being introduced by the school but are sung only by children; popular songs of the city, heard on the radio, are sung by girls in the privacy of their homes.

There are a number of bands of musicians who perform at local fiestas, dances, and at the more elegant weddings, baptisms, and funerals. These bands have a broader repertory than the singers, and play well-known music of Mexico and other nations. In musical skill, however, they compare unfavorably with the village guitar players and with musicians in other parts of Mexico and Latin America.

There is very little storytelling, and unlike villages in Spain, there is no rich lore of proverbs or sayings. Also, mothers generally do not sing to their children.

The clothing of the villagers is somewhat drab. The bright colors found in some parts of Mexico—the red skirts of Cherán, the red seed necklaces of the Tarascan women, the flamboyant serapes and *rebozos* of the south, the colorful pottery of Puebla and Oaxaca—are missing in Tepoztlán. Bright colors, particularly in clothing, are not in accord with Tepoztecan ideas of propriety, and only young girls are now beginning to wear them. Older women wear dull colored dresses,

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876 "bad" boys. Other punishments are keeping a child in during the recreation hour; reporting bad behavior to the parents; giving out tasks, such as sweeping the classroom or yard, working in the garden, or writing an assigned sentence one hundred times. One girl was locked up in the henhouse for hitting other children. Parents generally approve of physical punishment in the school, and some think the school is now too lenient. In the past, it was common practice for parents who could not control their children at home to ask the teacher to discipline them. Children who are punished in school rarely tell their parents about it for fear that they will be punished a second time at home. Causes for punishment in school are inattentiveness, not knowing the lesson, fighting, and disobedience.

593 861 Other methods are also used to instill fear in the child. It is common for parents, particularly mothers, to threaten to desert their children, playing on the children's fear of becoming orphans. One mother said that she can get obedience from her children by telling them that she will stop eating and die so that they will have to live with a cruel stepmother. Children are told that if they are naughty they will be carried off by a stranger who will make soap out of them. Any passer-by, and recently the *gringo*, is used to frighten children in this way. In Tepoztlán, where [609] [184] children have occasion to see many tourists and outsiders coming and going, the fear of strangers has worn off, but in the nearby smaller villages children run to hide when an unfamiliar person appears in the streets.

593 861 538 [825] Many mothers and grandmothers tell children stories of owls and coyotes coming out at night to eat bad children and of bats and opossums that drink blood. Children who lie or disobey are told that they will turn into devils and burn in hell. They are told that badness is always punished in some unexpected way, such as being bitten by a mad dog, and that goodness is rewarded with good luck.

[152] [776] The sound of a child crying appears to be a particular source of irritation in adults, especially in men, and children are frequently frightened into silence by threats of punishment. The story of Cahuasohuanton, a spirit who listens outside the walls of the house and imitates the child crying, is told to frighten crying children into silence. The story, translated from the Náhuatl, goes as follows:

[773] Once it happened that a child was crying a great deal, and his parents told him to lie down and go to sleep. He did not want to and sat near the hearth crying. His parents kept telling him to stop and then they fell asleep. After a while they awoke and heard a voice saying, "Cahuasohuanton yo ni concua," or "Cahuasohuanton has eaten him." The parents stood up and lighted a candle and there, near the hearth they saw the child dead, with his abdomen torn open and his intestines out and they knew that Cahuasohuanton had been there.

[776] Cahuasohuanton is a very fear-inspiring figure and children invariably cease crying when told that he is coming.

593 861 522 Frightening children is sometimes done for the amusement of adults. One informant remembered being very frightened as a child when his favorite uncle, after having told some ghost stories, suddenly told the child to run because a ghost was